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THE COMMONWEAL

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

The Rules Fight

EVERYTHING points to a lively opening of the Eighty-eighth Congress when House and Senate establish the rules of the game. In the senior chamber the big issue is anti-filibuster legislation, the effort of Administration forces headed by Senator Mansfield, and such Republican allies on the matter as Senator Case, to reduce the two-thirds vote now required for closure to a simple majority after a bill has been debated in the Senate for fifteen days.

But it is the House which continues to present the most formidable obstacle to legislation designed to meet urgent current needs. Here two committees hold the spotlight. Ways and Means, originator of all fiscal legislation, will have the decisive voice in the matter of tax reduction—the step on which so many are counting to boost the national economy. This committee succeeded in the last Congress in keeping both the Administration's Medicare bill and legislation extending the period of unemployment benefits from going to the floor.

Although smaller in number, the Rules Committee is more powerful still. Much of its power comes from its role of deciding which bills are to be sent for a vote to the House floor (and which are to be allowed to languish). In the Eighty-seventh Congress this committee killed twenty-two bills sought by the Administration including those dealing with mass transportation, federal aid to education, migratory workers and the formation of a youth conservation corps.

In setting up its rules for the new session the House will have to decide whether the Rules Committee is to retain its present numerical strength of fifteen or revert to its normal complement. Congressman Howard W. Smith of Virginia, its extremely conservative chairman, declares that the committee must be reduced to its traditional twelve (which enables a combine of its Republican and Southern Democrat members to block legislation). He declares that this matter is "not negotiable." President Kennedy, on the contrary, contends that if the Administration should lose out on this issue "our whole program would be emasculated." And so the lines are drawn.

THE circumstances under which the Rules Committee was expanded two years ago are worth recalling. The late Sam Rayburn used all his parliamentary experience and great personal influence to put it over—and at a moment when the Administration could exert strong pressure through dispensing or withholding patronage. In spite of these advantages (not now available) and the help of a number of Republicans, the margin for the measure was only five votes.

In 1963, the Democratic majority leader, John McCormack of Massachusetts, is far less influential; there is even some doubt whether he himself strongly favors the larger Rules Committee. To offset this there is growing talk that Howard Smith is having difficulty in rounding up a sure majority of his own; several key Republican leaders are proving to be particularly balky for fear of the repercussions to an all-out battle on this issue. They argue that very little progressive legislation got through the enlarged Committee anyway. Much as he wants the present size retained, President Kennedy himself endeavored to be conciliatory on the very eve of the battle. He commended members of Congress for being "close to the people," and said the decision was up to them.

Whatever the outcome, the Rules fight demonstrates to what extent the present system hampers the adoption of constructive measures to meet current needs. Walter Lippmann has lashed out at the "entirely arbitrary and high-handed usurpation of the Rules Committee when it arrogates to itself the right to decide what bills Congress shall vote upon." Certain Congressmen of the hundred-member Democratic "study group," which has a politically liberal

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orientation, also believe that there is little point in making such an issue of the size of the Committee. They rather seek more thorough-going reforms. For one thing, they would revive a procedure which was opposed by Speaker Rayburn: other committees would have the right to call to the floor bills stalled in Rules for twenty-one days. For another, the Rules Committee would be deprived of its present power to prevent bills, if it wishes, from going to the Senate-House conference to be whipped into final form.

The irony of the present Rules fight is that if Chairman Smith wins out and succeeds in blocking much desired legislation, the demand will grow to change some of the rules of the game. If none too interested in the mechanics of government, the American people have shown before that if given sufficient leadership on national needs, they will make their wishes known in terms that cannot be ignored.

Population and the U.N.

AMONG THE many services which the United Nations can provide the nations of the world, few seem to have such long-range importance as its possible contributions to a better understanding of the population problem. For it is a problem which, though often obscured by more immediate issues of world political stability, looms just below the surface as a major factor in any consideration of the future of the world.

For this reason, the recent resolution passed by the U.N. General Assembly calling for an intensified analysis of the relationship between economic development and population growth is very welcome. The first requirement for an adequate meeting of present and future population problems is a clear understanding of the basic facts of the matter. So far, too much of the discussion of the issue has been beclouded by conflicting claims and widely varying statistical projections. In this respect, the resolution's request that the U.N. Secretary General undertake an inquiry among the member nations concerning particular problems of population and economics is a step in the right direction.

As could have been expected, however, the resolution ran into some difficulty before final passage. At issue was a clause which provided for "United Nations technical assistance . . . for national projects and programs dealing with problems of population." This clause was widely interpreted to mean possible U.N. assistance to birth control programs. Fortunately, the clause failed to gain the majority necessary for retention in the resolution. It is fortunate, in particular, because if included it could well have meant the refusal of many nations to cooperate in the U.N. study.

In a country like the United States, the kinds of population crises facing many underdeveloped nations seem remote and unimportant. But that is far from being the case. The United States would be very wise to lend all support possible to the efforts which, hopefully, the U.N. resolution will now set into motion.

Conference at Nassau

GREATER GOOD than anyone had a right to expect may arise out of the agreements reached by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan at the conclusion of their momentous conference in the Bahamas. Not only did their talks re-establish the special bonds of friendship between Great Britain and the United States, bonds that had been weakened just prior to the talks; but the joint communiqué also marked a major shift in Western nuclear policy, a shift which may constitute a greater force for peace than the previous arrangement.

Just prior to the talks, if one could believe the foreboding headlines, "Skybolt" was the word which could spell the virtual collapse of the Anglo-American alliance. To review the argument once again, Skybolt, the still undeveloped U.S. air-to-ground missile, was essential, so the British claimed, both for the continuance of her manned bomber force and for her existence as an independent nuclear power. At the same time, it became increasingly plain that President Kennedy intended to drop the Skybolt program as too impracticable and costly.

In effect, at Nassau President Kennedy substituted for the Skybolt an offer of Polaris missiles to Great Britain. It is true that the British do not yet have the full complement of submarines necessary to make effective use of the Polaris missile as a deterrent. But the Polaris is operational, while the Skybolt is not. Moreover, while the days of the Royal Air Force bomber command may be numbered, there seems to be little that anyone can do about that. For the very logistics of the "missile revolution" make it almost inevitable. In any case, the Polaris missile will keep Britain as a nuclear power in her own right.

More important, however, is the new policy presented by the U.S.-British resolution to turn over the control of some of their Polaris missiles to NATO. In fact the idea seems to be to give NATO increasing control over the European nuclear force. This represents a major shift from a unilateral to a multilateral conception of Western defenses in gen-

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eral. As if to ensure this trend, moreover, President Kennedy and the Prime Minister joined in inviting President de Gaulle to share in the Polaris missile program. But it is not likely that de Gaulle will commit France's participation until he is assured that she will also be able to maintain an independent nuclear force.

The Nassau conference also ended with an agreement that the conventional forces of NATO should be strengthened. This is likely to be "played down" in the official news releases, but it should not be. A move to strengthen the conventional forces of NATO represents a gain for wisdom in European military strategy. For as long as we are only prepared to fight the war nobody wants to fight, the greater is the likelihood of its being fought.

The agreements reached in the Nassau talks, then, hold out a promise for a more effective, because more flexible, military deterrent for the West. That in turn means a greater promise of peace; yet it is a promise not without its contingencies. For it can only be secured upon the effective transference of the control of the independent European nuclear deterrents to the central NATO commission. The sound aim of the Nassau talks is multilateral, and not multinational nuclear deterrence. A step in the direction of the latter would be a step backwards.

A Significant Gesture

THERE ARE few major political problems which are not also, at bottom, moral ones. In our day, however, government officials are reluctant to admit the existence of moral issues, much less to admit they are swayed by them. Toughness and hardheadedness, it seems, are the qualities which most commend a politician or official to the public.

The ransom of the Cuban prisoners, significantly, was not an act of toughness. For once, to all appearances, humanitarian considerations took precedence over cold-war politics. Whether, as reported, the President was motivated by a sense of obligation to the prisoners is hard to determine. But what is apparent is that Mr. Kennedy resisted the complaint of many that the ransoming would be a sign of weakness, a concession to the soft-headed, and an ignominious bowing to a petty tyrant.

Needless to say, we believe the President's decision was a good and honorable one. Unfortunately, it was marred by one sleight-of-hand which fooled no one. From the outset of the negotiations the President claimed that the entire transaction was a private affair in which the government had no official part. Perhaps the reason for making such a claim was to take some pressure off the Administration from those who saw the nation's prestige at stake. Perhaps it was made out of a desire to keep the transaction in proper perspective—to make clear it was a humanitarian arrangement and not just a clever political move. Whatever the reason, the claim was never taken seriously.

By the time the actual exchange was underway it became obvious how deeply the resources of the government were involved. Among other things, the Administration apparently used its persuasive powers on prospective donors to the ransom kitty, promising them income tax deductions for "charitable purposes"; and it also supplied military transport equipment and personnel to help in the movement and unloading of the donated goods. Without this assistance, it is likely that the transaction would have dragged on for weeks or months, if it had not bogged down altogether.

In the end, however, the important thing is that the exchange was made, the prisoners ransomed. In return for the release of 1,113 prisoners, Fidel Castro received an estimated $50 million worth of drugs, medical supplies, baby foods and powdered milk, among other things. Just how much these supplies will help Castro's regime is doubtful. But they will help the sick and the young in Cuba and that is all to the good.

But what has the prisoner ransoming done for this country? At the very least we would hope it has shown that there is still some place in this world for the "soft" humanitarian act; that human needs still take precedence over the harsher political realities; that the nation loses nothing by risking its prestige for the sake of people. One gesture will not bring the peace the world seeks. But it may show the forgetful just what, finally, is at stake in today's world: man.

A New Moratorium?

ONCE AGAIN the nuclear test ban talks at Geneva have been recessed without any progress having been made. There was at least a hopeful unanimity of deep disappointment over the continued failure to reach an agreement on the issue of inspection. That issue, it seems, is the one thing preventing a ban, but it cannot be regretted as "a minor thing." For the "black boxes" that the Russians have proposed just will not do, and some inspection is essential to any meaningful agreement.

In the meantime, the Russians have been detonating nuclear devices at a prodigious rate in the Arctic and elsewhere. They are doing so presumably because they mean to declare a moratorium on such testing at the first of the year, in keeping with a

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United Nations resolution calling for such a cessation by the nuclear powers at that time.

As it is likely that the Russians will do so, the question is: how should the United States respond to such a move? Should we pay no heed to it, regarding it as a moratorium which the Russians surely mean to break, as they have before, when they fear a "lag" once again? Or should we regard such a move as in good faith and declare a moratorium of our own as a step toward a workable treaty?

On the one hand a new moratorium on the part of the United States might result in an eventual "nuclear disadvantage" for us. But on the other hand it might have the effect of reinforcing good faith and thus improving the climate of future test ban talks.

As to the first, it is really hard to see how, at the present stage of "overkill" in our nuclear weapons system, a temporary cessation (for that is all it is meant to be) can seriously impair our defenses. Since, then, only the argument that such a moratorium might help the cause of world peace remains, it would seem advisable for the United States, by declaring one of its own to try to hold the Soviets to theirs before world opinion.

Tito's Return to Moscow

SURELY President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia derived profound personal satisfaction from his December trip to Moscow. Not only had he defied Stalin and survived, but he had lived to address an applauding Supreme Soviet, while the remains of the old tyrant had been cast in dishonor from the granite tomb in Red Square. For Tito, who had joined the Communist movement in Russia forty-four years ago, the reconciliation with Moscow on his own terms must have been one of the most deeply felt triumphs of a long and eventful life.

Tito's journey to Moscow removed most of the remaining "ideological differences" between the Soviet and the Yugoslav Communist parties. Just as for some time the two Communist governments have spoken in unison on foreign policy, so in the future their ideological views may become identical.

Tito's Russian sojourn unfolded against the backdrop of two portentous developments, which may have truly shocked world Communism, namely, the Cuban crisis and the India-China border conflict. In attacking India, Communist China negated both Khrushchev's policy of "peaceful coexistence" and Tito's non-alignment. China's aggression drove India closer to the West, after Khrushchev had expended over eight hundred million dollars in economic assistance to bolster India's neutralism. At the same time, India awoke to the realization that Sukarno, Nkrumah, Tito and Nassar were fair-weather friends of little help in a time of real crisis.

During the Cuban crisis and the India-China border clashes Yugoslavia closely supported Khrushchev. For instance, following President Kennedy's dramatic revelation that the Soviets were building offensive missile bases in Cuba, Yugoslav propaganda denied the fact and accused the U.S. of naked and unprovoked aggression. Then, after Khrushchev admitted the presence of the missiles and agreed to their withdrawal, Yugoslav propagandists hailed Khrushchev as the great savior of world peace. During his Moscow sojourn Tito reaffirmed his blanket endorsement of the Soviet Cuban policy.

As for the Chinese aggression against India, Yugoslavia deplored the attack but urged India to accede to Peking's terms for a negotiated settlement of the dispute. The Yugoslavs said that Peking had shown wisdom in offering to withdraw its troops to the 1959 positions. This course of action, however, was rejected by Prime Minister Nehru on the ground that it would leave China in possession of a substantial segment of Indian territory. Incidentally, Belgrade's view of the border dispute coincided with that of Moscow.

Under violent propaganda assaults from Communist China and Albania, Khrushchev sought to rally the support of his European satellites, Yugoslavia, and the Communist parties in the free world. Never at a loss for earthy aphorisms, Khrushchev compared the Albanians to little boys who were given a few kopecks by hoodlums to repeat dirty words in front of their mother.

In this context the December Congress of the Italian Communist party and the renewed "de-Stalinization" drives of the Czechoslovak, Bulgarian and East German leaderships appear to have been part of Khrushchev's comprehensive endeavor to consolidate his own position vis-à-vis the Chinese comrades. Tito's trip to Moscow was also designed to shore up Khrushchev's leadership against eroding encounters with Communist China and Albania.

IN RETURN for wholehearted support for Khrushchev, Tito undoubtedly obtained concessions. It seems out of the question that Tito has accepted or ever will accept the role of a Gomulka or a Kadar within the Soviet orbit. But, then, Khrushchev made no such demands upon Tito. Khrushchev is willing to accept the Yugoslav Marshal as an elder statesman of Communism and a junior partner of the Communist consortium. Having accepted integral Yugoslav sovereignty, Khrushchev has also removed the basis for the long-standing Soviet-Yugoslav dispute.

In Moscow, Tito sought and obtained some Soviet

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economic assistance for Yugoslavia's faltering economy. For instance, on December 11, Moscow radio announced that the Soviets would help build a power station in Yugoslavia. But such token assistance can hardly compare with the estimated two and one-half billion dollars worth of military and economic aid Yugoslavia received from the U.S. since 1950.

The yearly U.S. grants constituted over half of Yugoslavia's annual budgets. In fact, therefore, Washington underwrote the Titoist experiment and kept the Yugoslav economy from foundering. But for Tito and his colleagues the ideological and political advantages resulting from a close alignment with Moscow by far outweigh the economic benefits of U.S. friendship.

Tito and his associates feel that in the long run economic dependence on, and integration with the West would undermine their Communist dictatorship. Conversely, the rapprochement with Moscow will strengthen the internal Communist rule in Yugoslavia. In addition, Khrushchev has recognized Yugoslavia's complete sovereignty and her right to trade and maintain whatever economic ties she wishes with the non-Communist world, ties which the Yugoslavs keep strengthening with gusto. For instance, a few months ago, in an attempt to bolster her problem-beset tourist business, Yugoslavia signed an agreement with Pan-American, conferring on the American company the management of some hotels in Yugoslavia, including the Esplanade in Zagreb, Croatia.

The growing integration of the European Economic Community threatens to close most of Western Europe to Yugoslavia's agricultural exports. Simultaneously, the linking with the Common Market of eighteen underdeveloped African colonies may further restrict Yugoslavia's trade possibilities on that continent. In any case, it has by now become amply apparent that the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa, with whom Yugoslavia maintains close political ties, can neither provide a lucrative market for Yugoslavia's inferior industrial goods, nor supply her with the assistance she needs to sustain her faltering industrialization drive.

Confronted with the pressing choice of either altering Yugoslavia's political structure in order to win the economic benefits to be derived from association with the Common Market, or seeking to consolidate the Communist regime through a close alliance with Moscow, Tito has chosen the latter course. While his recent talks with Khrushchev can only reinforce this trend in Yugoslav policies, Tito also seems to have explored the possibility of associating Yugoslavia with COMECON, the Communist bloc's answer to the Common Market.

The specific composition of the Yugoslav delegation which visited Moscow confirmed the fact that Alexander Rankovic, the actual head of the dreaded UDBA (secret police), has emerged as the top contender for Tito's succession. The rapprochement with Moscow further eclipsed Vice-President Eduard Kardelj, who spent much time studying Western socialism on protracted visits to the West, and in particular to Britain and the Scandinavian countries.

Both Rankovic and Jovan Veselinov, Tito's other top aide during the mission to Moscow, are Serbs and leaders of the pro-Russian elements within the Yugoslav Communist party. They are also known to favor increased internal centralism. Thus the cementing of party relations may have profound repercussions on internal Yugoslav developments, and the strengthening of Russo-Yugoslav ties may affect the delicate national rapport within the Yugoslav Communist party. Latent national antagonism came to the surface during the inconclusive struggle over the new Yugoslav Constitution, which was drawn up in 1962. While the Serbian Communists endeavored to strengthen centralism, the Croats, Slovenes, and Macedonians sought to enhance the autonomy of the six constituent republics of Yugoslavia. These struggles are not forgotten.

As long as Tito remains at the helm he will undoubtedly steer a careful course in both foreign and domestic affairs. A decisive turning point may occur only after Tito passes from the scene and men of lesser stature and ability assume the leadership of Yugoslav Communism. Thus, the full effects of the re-establishment of close ties between the Soviet and Yugoslav parties may not become fully apparent for several years.

Although Tito remains the unchallenged dictator of Yugoslavia, Western visitors who saw him recently reported that he had aged considerably and was increasingly unconcerned about many vital areas of Yugoslav life. Tito's growing isolation from domestic developments was revealed in September, when he publicly admitted that he did not know that the ten to twenty per cent charge for "service" which Yugoslavia instituted several years ago, as a measure to raise the earnings of waiters and hotel employees, was not distributed to the workers. Yet when I visited Yugoslavia in 1961, and again in January of 1962, waiters and hotel employees everywhere loudly complained of this abuse. Everybody seemed to know about it except Tito, who was living in gilded isolation on his Adriatic island retreat.

During the remaining years of Marshal Tito's rule (he is almost seventy-one now), Yugoslavia will undoubtedly maintain her equivocal course. But the rapprochement effected during the Marshal's recent mission to Moscow, the agreement to strengthen party and economic ties, may help the centralist and pro-Soviet elements within the Yugoslav party eventually to reorient drastically Yugoslav domestic and foreign policies.

MATTHEW M. MESTROVIC

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Going Whose Way?

BACK in the days when "Going My Way" was a Hollywood movie with Bing Crosby and Barry Fitzgerald, it became a handy symbol, if not for telling the sheep from the goats at least for telling the conservatives from the liberals. Conservatives by and large hailed the movie as a wonderful public relations boon to the Church; liberals felt it distorted the basic concept of the priesthood, and Father H. A. Reinhold wrote a great column in *Worship* along these lines.

Now that "Going My Way" is a weekly television series, I've seen only one comment on it in the Catholic press—that by Father John Reedy in *Ave Maria*. Maybe I've missed some, but I suspect that "Going My Way" just doesn't have the ability to raise partisan hackles the way it once did.

If Father Reedy is alone, however, he is vigorous enough, even citing television's "Going My Way" as prime evidence of the existence of anti-clericalism in America. He is, Father Reedy says, all in favor of laymen on diocesan boards of education; he thinks pastors and Bishops make a mistake when they fail to consult qualified laymen on important decisions; he doesn't even get excited about the suggestion that laymen might vote on candidates for the Bishopric. But "Going My Way" is just too much for him.

"It's real anti-clericalism," he writes, "to make all priests appear to be benevolent boobs who don't know why they're doing what they are doing. There's a profound—if unintended—insult involved in portraying the priesthood itself as irrelevant and insignificant. The men of God in 'Going My Way' could just as well be scout leaders in search of their good deeds."

Harsh words, perhaps, but heaven knows "'Going My Way" invites them. All or almost all of the props of the Hollywood version are here, and television has added a few of its own. Gene Kelly, as everyone knows, is in Bing Crosby's role as Father O'Malley. A nice man, I am sure, but his Father O'Malley is at least twice as schmaltzy as Crosby's. Who could say more? Then there is his pastor, Father Fitzgibbons ("Father Fitz," of course) played by Leo G. Carroll. Father Fitz is from the Old Country, and don't ask which one. What pastors will make of him I don't know, but I'm sure most curates will have a hard time squaring their personal experience with reality as it is found on TV.

Then there is the housekeeper—not a big part but one with lots of possibilities. Here TV had a choice of two clichés out of Catholic life—the gorgon who runs things with a whip hand, terrifying priest and parishioner alike, or the kindly, definitely unsexy type who will be a Mom to her charges. Television settled for the latter, and all in all I guess I'm glad of the choice.

Finally, for the Protestants—they watch television too, you know—there is Dick York, the head of a settlement house in the neighborhood. Although I don't think he is an ordained minister, he is definitely a Protestant, and he works closely with Father O'Malley, even to the point of calling him "Chuck" in private—which just proves, I guess, what regular fellows we Catholics really are, even priests.

So far I haven't seen any lovably quaint rabbis on "Going My Way" but I fear the worst—the way things are on the show, one will probably turn up on St. Patrick's Day with an Irish brogue and a shamrock. In fact, he may very well arrive arm-in-arm with Barry Fitzgerald's mother—remember the old lady who made her way slowly up the church aisle toward her son the pastor while Bing sang "Toora-Loora-Loora" in the background? Wait, Father Reedy, wait—great things are still in store for us.

Father Reedy is quite right, of course. The priests in "Going My Way" *are* essentially social workers in Roman collars. They come through, as he says, as "busybodies with good intentions: they ooze so much unmotivated joy and goodness that they make you feel grouchy and mean." The show is outrageously sentimental, so much so that it makes the old weeper Jack Paar look like the Great Stone Face. Even worse, "Going My Way" is unabashedly pietistic; in one episode they buried a dog near a statue in the church courtyard where it would be "in Our Lady's shadow," and this episode constitutes a reasonable index of the level of religious literacy that prevails.

The problem is, how do you present the mystery and wonder of the priesthood? Graham Greene can do it; Leon Bloy did it, magnificently. But in a visual medium like television, which is intended for a mass audience, and on an every-week basis? I suspect the task is impossible—although the producers of "Going My Way" are going to unnecessarily great lengths to prove the point.

I think I know what defenders of the show would say. It is true enough, I suppose, that on the popular level "Going My Way" may do more to break down suspicion of the Church than a dozen ecumenical statements from the American bishops. Indeed, the very fact that the show can succeed is itself a good indication of the friendlier inter-religious climate that is developing in this country. Things are changing, and with a Catholic in the White House and Fathers O'Malley and Fitzgibbons on television, maybe Catholics are on their way to final acceptance. I must say, though, that "Going My Way" strikes me as a high price to pay for becoming part of the Establishment.

JAMES O'GARA

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Natural Law and Modern Society

JOHN COGLEY

AN ATTACK on traditional thinking about morals which began as an academic exercise in the universities seems to have reached out to society at large. We are probably not much worse than previous generations in our actual behavior. Widespread cheating, duplicity, dishonesty, bawdry, and selfishness are not new phenomena. The difference is that we do not seem to be sure why they are objectionable—we may not even care particularly. There is a moral vacuum.

The vacuum was strikingly evident a few years ago when it turned out that millions of fans, including many college students, could see nothing wrong in the television quiz hoax nor anything particularly reprehensible about the perjured testimony of some of the contestants who were called before Congressional committees. Earlier, it was illustrated in *The New Yorker* magazine's depressing report on the behavior of GI prisoners of war in the Korean camps. It was pointed up by the basketball scandals, the exposures of police corruption in Chicago and Denver, and the discovery of thriving agencies set up to supply university candidates with instant Master's theses. It is dramatized regularly in the headline stories of violence and sheer savagery filed under the mild heading of Juvenile Delinquency.

It is corroborated by the lies told, the shady methods used, the dubious practices tolerated by some of the most respectable professions and business organizations in the nation. It is found in the fact that even after the revelations of the Senate labor hearings the cock-of-the-walk chief of the Teamsters Union could be re-elected every Monday morning, were elections held that frequently. It is buried in the statistics showing that in recent years there has been an embarrassing correlation between a rise in churchgoing and a rise in crime. It is expressed in the letters on sex questions appearing in the columns of the lady philosophers who play mother-confessor to readers of the tabloids, and in the pallid answers the good ladies give them: Be good, sweet maid, be good—because if you are not good you will be in conflict with current "convention." It is documented in dozens of solemn studies of adolescents who claim they do not know how to tell right from wrong or where to turn for guidance.

When it comes to the ethical questions connected with modern war and the complexities of foreign policy, the nation itself appears to share the bafflement of its adolescent citizens. With the exception of a few overworked moralists of limited influence, we are not even asking ourselves the hard questions about the rights and wrongs of maintaining massive weapons of destruction, of carrying on nuclear tests that pollute the atmosphere, of interfering in the affairs of other nations, of fomenting or banking foreign revolutionary fires, etc. True, the air is clogged with the charges and countercharges of partisans of one kind or another, but so far our major response to the greatest moral dilemmas ever faced by a nation seems to be compounded of impassioned, unhelpful slogans like "It's better to be dead than red," and "It's better to be red than dead." The result is that most people, bored with the clatter of propagandists, have retired from the discussion and simply await the newest headlines telling them of the hit-or-miss moral decisions anonymous "experts" make in their name.

The basic problem, it would appear, is not that we often behave badly but that we may be losing our sense of ethics; the American consensus about what is good and bad, what is to be done and what avoided, may be breaking down. We often mean well enough but we do not quite know what we mean. We want to do the right thing but we do not know what is right. We muddle along, making uncertain choices, and finally, when the uncertainty becomes pervasive, aimlessness sets in.

Senator James W. Fulbright touched on the problem a few years ago in a widely publicized speech: "If one probes beneath the chrome-plated surface, he comes inescapably to the conclusion that the American people by and large are not happy. The incidence of

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mental illness and of physical ailments associated with emotional stress is increasing rapidly. American doctors last year wrote almost fifty million prescriptions for the various drugs that come under the heading of tranquilizers. Every year the waiting lists of psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, and psychotherapists gets longer. It has occurred to me that perhaps one of the difficulties is not in ourselves but in our collective capacity as a nation.

"It would be helpful, I think, if the developing science of psychiatry could make a study of national egos and motives and personalities; for it seems that nations have quite as hard a time understanding themselves as do individuals. I believe that such a study would conclude that America's trouble is basically one of aimlessness at home and frustration abroad. Webster defines frustration as a state which results when one has been prevented from attaining a purpose. The American people have attained their private purposes almost too well at home; but beyond their personal material needs they have not yet recognized an objective or purpose which inspires their real interest."

A root difficulty may be that so many of us tend to think of ethics in essentially negative terms. Like children, we habitually look on "standards" for behavior as a set of prohibitions and proscriptions that were designed to take the pleasure out of living. But does it not remain true that every good law, even the unwritten laws we accept for ourselves without the imposition of policemen and politicians, is a liberating force whose purpose is not to extinguish human potentialities but to actualize them?

That, in any case, is still the belief of those who affirm the everlasting claim of the natural law, as it was the belief of the masterful Marcus Tullius Cicero, whose definition, more than two thousand years later, remains the classic formulation of natural law doctrine. The Ciceronian definition is worth repeating, especially for those who labor under the impression that the natural law is only another name for the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. In words that may be among the most memorable in political literature, the ancient orator summed up the doctrine this way:

"There is in fact a true law—namely, right reason—which is in accordance with nature, applies to all men, and is unchangeable and eternal. By its commands this law summons men to the performance of their duties; by its prohibitions it restrains them from doing wrong. Its commands and prohibitions always influence good men, but are without effect on the bad. To invalidate this law by human legislation is never morally right, nor is it permissible ever to restrict its operation, and to annul it wholly is impossible. Neither the Senate nor the people can absolve us from our obligation to obey this law, and it requires no Sextus Aelius to expound and interpret it. It will not lay down one rule at Rome and another at Athens, nor will it be one rule today and another tomorrow. But there will be one law, eternal and unchangeable, binding at all times upon all peoples; and there will be, as it were, one common master and ruler of men, namely God, who is the author of this law, its interpreter and its sponsor. The man who will not obey it will abandon his better self, and, in denying the true nature of a man, will thereby suffer the severest of penalties, though he has escaped all the other consequences which men call punishment."

IT CAN be seen from this pre-Christian quotation—and similar ones could be culled from *Antigone* or the writings of Plato and Aristotle—that there is nothing intrinsically "Catholic" in the doctrine of natural law. To be sure, fidelity to the basic doctrine is an essential teaching of Catholicism. But one does not embrace Catholicism by accepting natural law doctrine, if only because the content of faith, or so Catholics believe, completely transcends what can be known by human reason unaided by grace, whereas the knowledge of natural law is a product of human reason alone. The wisdom it provides was gained by men of different faiths and of no faith reflecting on human experience.

By no means, then, are all proponents of the philosophy Catholic. Indeed, many among them take issue with some of the Church's practical deductions from natural law theory. For example, a number of outstanding natural lawyers reject the Catholic position on birth control, not because they repudiate the principles of natural law but because they do not agree with the Church's specific "application" of them in this instance.

The common confusion of natural law with Catholic theology is only one of the difficulties. It may not even be the most important reason why today the true doctrine, as it has been expounded from the time of Cicero to the modern age, is so frequently hidden in semantic mists. Even a philosopher as gentle as Jacques Maritain was provoked to strong words by the widespread ignorance of the subject. In *The Rights of Man and Natural Law* Maritain wrote:

"There are people who imagine that natural law is an invention of the American and French revolutions. Reactionaries of all kinds have done a great deal to spread this nonsense; unhappily, in their efforts to discredit the idea of natural law they have found allies on the one hand in the pessimism of certain religious thinkers, and on the other hand among the bulk of contemporary jurists (particularly those of the positivist school) who, by the way, are really attacking a false notion of natural law, and in exterminating it, exterminate only a man of straw, drawn from the pages of cheap-jack textbooks."

Probably the crudest of the false notions that brought forth such surprising sharpness from Maritain is the

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idea that acceptance of natural law implies an obligation never to interfere with the process of physical nature; those who propound the doctrine are taken to be saying that men are obliged to be completely subservient to the "laws of nature," as if natural lawyers taught that man was meant to be the helpless victim of his physical environment. Of course almost the opposite is true. What the natural lawyers actually affirm is the primacy of reason over the non-rational forces in nature, the governance of the "rational" over the "animal" in the creature Aristole defined as a rational animal. The belief that natural law assumes that "the state of nature" is superior to civilization is so totally misleading that one can understand the philosopher's annoyance in finding it solemnly put forth, even if only in cheap-jack textbooks.

ANOTHER false notion is held by those who think of natural law as a kind of categorical imperative: you put in your penny's worth of general principle—e.g., all men are worthy of just treatment—and the appropriate directive for any given problem, the one, inevitable, effortless solution, pops out; there is no further need for history, experience, sociology, psychology, or political judgment. This of course is a caricature. For along with the natural lawyer's insistence on stable standards is an insistence on giving due weight to the changing and changeable factors of human existence.

The unending discovery of natural law, in a word, is not a denigration of, but a product of, civilization. Adherence to the doctrine, far from relieving men of the burden of thought, intensifies the need for it. The able natural lawyer never by-passes scientific knowledge or factual considerations; rather, he insists, frequently to the point of boredom, on their relevance. Most important of all, the natural law can confer no cheap infallibility on those who accept its dictates. Its grinding principles are generalized and few, and, as Thomas Aquinas stressed, the greater the distance between moral principles and the proximate judgments men make on the basis of them, the more hazardous and subject to error their conclusions are likely to be.

Also high on the list of misconceptions is the notion of natural law doctrine as a kind of glorified intuitionism. This confusion may be traced to certain proponents of the theory who, by ineptly emphasizing St. Paul's belief that the natural law is written in the heart of man, have left the impression that reasoned judgment has at best a slight role to play—we just know what is wrong and right, and the test is easy: if we feel good about an act, it must be right; if we feel guilty about it, it must be wrong.

Again, the true doctrine contains no such idea. Though natural lawyers agree with St. Paul that every man has the capacity to know that good is to be done and evil avoided, they will proclaim from the rooftops that frequently we should *not* act the way we feel. Feelings can be a most uncertain guide for the man who is trying to determine a specific good to do or specific evil to avoid. For example, if the tabloid accounts of teen-age rumbles on the streets of New York and Chicago are to be trusted, many a young hoodlum has felt exhilarated when he smashed in a victim's head but has been stricken with remorse for having prevented a killing by stooling on a buddy. His feelings, all would agree, are not a trustworthy guide for his conscience; and certainly no natural law advocate would suggest that he rely on them. Rather, it would be suggested that the young man submit his feelings to rational analysis and behave accordingly.

Finally, the natural law doctrine is frequently confused with another doctrine that sometimes goes under the same name. This other doctrine, which flourished in the eighteenth century, took several forms. It was related to Rousseau's notion of the noble savage. It was congenial to the ideas proclaimed by the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment, who held that men were mystically destined to get better and better, human progress was inevitable, and Reason, at last conscious of itself, would turn the dark earth into a paradise undreamed of by those who put their final hopes in a world to come. It was at the basis of the myth of the hidden hand, according to which neither intelligence nor reasoned moral judgment had to be brought to bear on economic affairs. Suffice it to say that neither the rationalist dream, nor the mystique of the laissez-faire economists, whatever one thinks of them, has anything to do with what a Cicero, a Maritain, a Buchanan, or a Hutchins means by the philosophy of natural law.

These and certain other misconceptions are some of the things *not* meant by natural law. What *is* meant?

Fundamentally, the idea of natural law (also traditionally called the unwritten law) is based on a belief that there exists a moral order which every normal person can discover by using his reason and of which he must take account if he is to attune himself to his necessary ends as a human being. Three propositions, then, are included in the definition: 1) there is a nature common to all men—something uniquely human makes all of us *men* rather than either beasts or angels; 2) because that "something" is rationality, we are capable of learning what the general ends of human nature are; and 3) by taking thought we can relate our moral choices to these ends.

In effect, the natural lawyers proclaim that before we come to revealed religion, to the Bible, to tradition, to the wise men of the community, or to any other source of moral refinement, we have the capacity to think ethically, to learn the general requirements of good conduct, and to discover, at least in a general way, what our obligations are.

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The Manpower Problem and Vocational Education

Schooling for Work

EDWARD T. CHASE

THE MOST disquieting fact about the American economy is that group of nearly a million persons who have been jobless for over fifteen weeks, one which persists regardless of the state of the economy. The per cent of unemployed at every "prosperity" peak since the war, 1948, 1953, 1957, and 1960, has each time been greater than before. Nonetheless, complacency has been common—as suggested by the view that unemployment, even of 5.5 per cent or 6.0 per cent of the labor force, was nothing that a stepped-up economic growth rate wouldn't cure.

The past year has seen this sentiment all but vanish. There is a growing consensus that the United States has entered a new manpower era, that from now on our labor force, from the unskilled up to the professions, will be experiencing the dislocation of pervasive technological change. A man may have to learn new occupations not once but three or four times. It is this development that is creating the waves of *dis*employment, and, for the poorly equipped who lack vocational resilience, *un*employment.

There is awareness, if not precise knowledge, about the data on unemployment—that while only 1.8 per cent of professionals are unemployed, 8.7 per cent of unskilled workers are jobless and 6.6 per cent of the semi-skilled; that while 3.7 per cent of white men are unemployed, 8.9 per cent of the colored are; that the unemployment rate is 8.5 for youths under 25, compared with only 3.4 per cent for men over that age.

Less widely known is the upcoming onslaught of young applicants on the labor force—twenty-six million in the 1960's, about fifty per cent more than in the 1950's. Meantime, youthful unemployment even now is dismaying. Teenage boys have averaged twelve per cent unemployed for over four years. Urban Negro boys are fifty to seventy per cent unemployed; and, of all those unemployed for more than six months, twenty per cent are in the under-25 group. The prospect of twenty-six million entrants into the competition for work during the 1960's—between a third and a quarter of whom are unequipped, being drop-outs from elementary or high school—is downright scary.

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What institutions can deal with this challenge? The main answer is our system of vocational education. Yet it is this very system that the educated community knows least about. Events are likely to dispel this ignorance, however, and soon. For going into high gear is a new manpower program that will put the U.S. vocational education system to its greatest test. Increasingly, there will be re-evaluations of this program. As it is now vividly appreciated in high Administration circles, crucial matters are in question—whether retraining the unemployed is really feasible; whether our society can rise to the challenge of coping with the demoralized in the younger generation and the disemployed in the old; whether the dominant power system in America, the business community and organized labor, can rise above hallowed self-seeking in order to make retraining and vocational education truly succeed.

At stake is the health of our national economy. Economic growth of 5.0 per cent annually is dependent upon a 2.9 per cent annual growth in manpower productivity. Vocational education and retraining even more than academic education are indispensable to stepped-up productivity in an age when, for example, every graduate engineer needs twenty technicians. Also involved in the success of our manpower programs is the United States' capacity to cope with the farm problem, juvenile delinquency, automation, racial discrimination, and (hopefully) the impact of disarmament.

IT IS only against this background that one can see in proper perspective our vocational education system and the pioneering program being created by the new Manpower Development and Training Act (M.D.T.A.). The President has linked the M.D.T.A. to the historic Employment Act of 1946 by characterizing it as the most important legislation in manpower since that bill. It is a highly relevant linkage. The 1946 act's significance stems from the fact that it pledged the federal government to full and equitable employment, though the vigor with which this pledge has been honored hasn't been notable.

Essential points about the M.D.T.A. program are, first, that it is aimed directly at the hard-core, tech-

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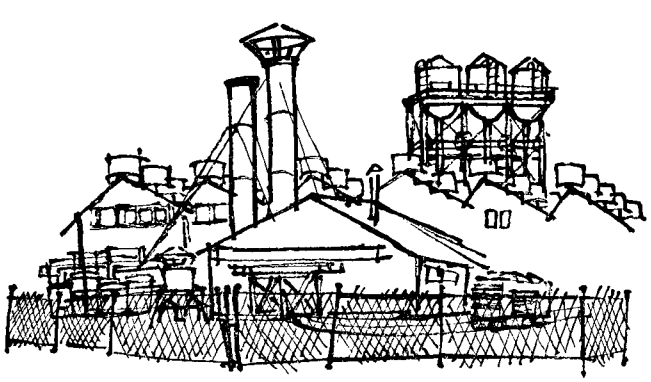
nologically unemployed; second, that it is ambitious in dimension; and, third, that it is dependent upon our existing structure, the local vocational high-schools, trade schools and technical schools to do the retraining. This means the program will test and dramatize a crucial yet the most neglected, component in our educational system.

Late under way, the M.D.T.A. program finally has retraining programs being developed in all fifty states. The 274 programs in action in thirty-four states in mid-November were engaging only 10,565 people. But 70,000 is the goal the first year and 400,000 (roughly half the long-term unemployed total) by the end of the three-year, or first, phase of the program. It is the "first" phase because, as I soon discovered, practically no one in Washington sees any end to the program. Such is the quickening pace of technological change, especially automation, that employment dislocation is now pervasive in our economy and simply can't be met in a piecemeal, small-scale way. Concurrent with the M.D.T.A. program there is the much smaller retraining program represented by the Area Redevelopment Act. This program is confined to depressed areas and supports only short-term training, up to sixteen weeks, compared with retraining for as long as a year in the M.D.T.A. program.

The M.D.T.A. program will cost $435 million over the three-year first phase. The federal government will pay all costs the first year, and share fifty-fifty with the States thereafter. The estimate is that it costs around $1,000 to train a man. The Labor Department, through its local employment offices, is responsible for determining what job opportunities are available, selecting the trainees and placing them in jobs after their training. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Labor organize the training programs in cooperation with state and local education officials. It is up to the local vocational schools, however, to do the training themselves.

Anyone can be selected for retraining if he is unemployed; or working below his skill capacities; or working substantially less than full time; or *will* be working less than full time or *will* be unemployed because his skills are becoming obsolete; or is a member of a farm family with less than $1,200 yearly net family income; or is between sixteen and twenty-one and needs training. To get financial allowances during the retraining, one must be not only unemployed but also the head of a household and have had at least three years' employment. The allowances are equal to the average of the State unemployment compensation benefit.



A key provision of the act is that no training will be undertaken unless there is "reasonable expectation of employment in the occupation for which the worker is to be trained." This is vital since all previous experience has demonstrated that when the expectation of actual re-employment is present, morale is high and success is probable. When the job opportunity is nebulous, the whole process of retraining and placement founders. Accordingly, the Labor Department is now pinpointing area job needs as never before. The anomaly of the times is that high unemployment exists while thousands of jobs go unfilled owing to the lack of available skilled personnel in the right place at the right time.

THE BURNING question about this novel, ambitious undertaking must be, of course, how well equipped is our vocational system? Even before one studies the system, one is uneasy. For one thing, the drop-out rate is highest of all for the vocational schools. A third of academic high school students drop out before graduation, but two thirds of vocational students drop out. Such a high vocational school drop-out rate is vivid testimony to the negligible role these schools play in the students' judgment. Nor are the students unsupported in this judgment by the experts. Here is the comment from a thorough study of "voced," as it is called, by a leading foundation: "It is extremely questionable, and certainly has never been demonstrated, whether the training absorbed by vocational high school graduates is useful to them in getting employment and advancing on the job."

So withering an indictment is no doubt unfair to many schools. But the evidence is mounting that as a generality it holds true. The history of vocational education suggests some of the reasons. It wasn't until the first and second decades of the twentieth century that technological change became so swift as to precipitate federal concern with vocational education. World War I was the catalyst for the first national act, the Smith-Hughes Act, the largest share of which went to agriculture education. Other acts during the period from 1929 to 1937 supplemented the Smith-Hughes Act, with the brunt of the increase upon *agriculture and home economics*. The next great vocational education act was the George-Barden Act of 1946, amended since (in 1956, then again in 1958), upping the Federal grants, yet continuing to bolster agriculture, and, latterly, to

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support "the fishery trade," some industrial and marketing education and practical nursing.

For fiscal year 1963, the total amount of federal money appropriated by these basic vocational education acts is $56,877,278. Federal money for special vocational training directly aimed at structural unemployment has also become available under the Area Redevelopment Act and the M.D.T.A.: $22,481,000. Thus the grand total of federal "voced" funds provided to the states is nearly $80 million.

This figure amounts to almost a third of the yearly $250 million total of all funds now being devoted nationally to vocational education. (A comparable amount is devoted under local auspices to school construction.) But the federal role is more significant than this suggests. It is decisive since the categories of skills selected for education are substantially established by the federal legislation. The localities construct programs so as to qualify for the federal grants.

What we find, then, is a continuing lunatic stress on the teaching of farming—this in an age when farming can barely sustain six million people; when only one youth in ten can find a farm job; and when the rural young are desperate to attain vocational resilience so they may have a fighting chance for useful lives as they join the migration to the city. Yet 44.5 per cent of vocational education funds were spent last year for agricultural training.

THE EMPHASIS on farm education is symptomatic of the irrelevance and the stigma of failure in vocational education. All too common is evidence of outmoded equipment for training in obsolescent skills, of teachers low in the pedagogical hierarchy and demoralized by coping with wash-outs and potential dropouts. The priorities in reform are not difficult to pinpoint, as is clear from a look at the just released survey of "voced" by a presidential study panel and the remarkable Taconic Foundation analysis. Apart from the substantially more money that is needed to effect these reforms, both federal and local, there are these needs:

First, the establishment of a much greater variety of courses, especially in office and service skills. As of now there is no federal reimbursement for training for office occupations. Moreover, federal support for education in the so-called distributive occupations (defined as marketing, merchandising, sales, etc.) is foolishly denied to the full-time vocational student, that is, one not yet employed. Support at present is limited strictly to so-called "cooperative work-school" programs where the trainee is already a part-time student, part-time worker in the job he's being educated for.

Second, the recognition that many vocational education students will continue to be deprived persons, Negroes and Puerto Ricans with socio-economic handicaps. Special courses and techniques must be developed for them, under specially qualified teachers. In addition, federal funds should be used for such promising pilot programs as the Mobilization For Youth project on New York's Lower East Side. The aim here is to draw upon this experience in introducing greater pertinency and flexibility into vocational education.

Third, the establishment of vocational education on a year-round, day and night basis. This should be done not only by running the vocational schools throughout the summer but by creating post-high school vocational training centers for the floating population of the million youths who have left school and can't seem to enter the labor market, and for those adults who need updating and upgrading in the rapidly changing equipment and techniques that mark an age of advancing technology.

Fourth, again bearing in mind the special inadequacies of the deprived, to establish a ratio of at least one guidance counselor per three hundred students (the ratio is probably about one to five hundred now).

Fifth, to do away with outmoded regulations (to qualify for government grants) stipulating that the vocational student's day must be divided equally between shop and academic instruction.

An ambitious carrying out of these reforms in the vocational education system could begin to crack hard-core unemployment. But reform would have to be supplemented by action in areas outside of vocational education. The United States Employment Service must be made a national job *placement* service and a *counseling* service instead of functioning as just a state-by-state unemployment benefit service. Listing of job vacancies must eventually become mandatory, if this is to work. Management and the unions also must increase apprenticeship programs and must eliminate racial discrimination. Finally, there must be financing for the *relocation* of the unemployed. Mobility as much as education is absolutely essential for the hard-core jobless.

What is at stake here is more than the success or failure of the Manpower Development and Training Program. The U.S. will suffer losses of 2.5 million jobs yearly in the next ten years because of technological change; yet 25,000 new jobs *weekly* must be found to absorb entrants into the labor market during this same period. The morale of this generation as well as U.S. economic growth are both crucially dependent upon superior vocational preparation. Yet ten times more money is spent on the school lunch program! Without drastic reform of vocational education and the U.S. Employment Service, the prospect of the affluent society will be dim in our time and, indeed, our economic growth problems and welfare problems are bound to worsen.

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THE SCREEN

The Bitter with the Better

It's that time of year again, when a reviewer selects his Best Ten. The number is arbitrary—but so is the list; this is one time a reviewer can be as capricious as he likes. The Ten are his personal choice, and no doubt the whole idea of such a selection at year's end is good. It gives readers a chance to know where their reviewer stands; it gives them some inkling of what they may expect from him in the future. And another thing: the Best lists may inspire producers to do better. I regret that there are so few Hollywood-made films on my list this year. Hollywood may be on the wane, but it is by no means out. And I hope that by the end of 1963, it takes its rightful position again as the place where Best movies are made. In the meantime, without further apology, here are my Ten—not necessarily arranged in order of preference.

Billy Budd. Without losing the symbolism of Melville's thoughtful novel, director-writer-actor Peter Ustinov has turned it into a lively action film that doesn't solve the conflict between good and evil but states the problem well.

A Taste of Honey. Greatly assisted by a fine cast throughout, director Tony Richardson has made Shelagh Delaney's poignant play about a lonely, high-spirited slum girl into a movie that is better than the original and makes you laugh even while it breaks your heart.

Barabbas. Dino de Laurentiis' production of the first century is on the gory side, but a moving performance by Anthony Quinn in the title role and Christopher Fry's script, well-written from Par Lagerkvist's novel, help greatly to give this elaborate film something that cinematic spectacles seldom attain: a genuine religious feeling.

Long Day's Journey into Night. Eugene O'Neill's play, filmed virtually intact by producer Ely Landau and director Sidney Lumet, proves a gripping though exhausting experience on the screen; O'Neill's dialogue and the good cast, with Katharine Hepburn, Ralph Richardson, Jason Robards, Jr., and Dean Stockwell as the sick, bickering Tyrones, provide an emotional workout well worth the effort.

Through a Glass Darkly. The family in director-writer Ingmar Bergman's penetrating film also wears down its viewers with quarreling and blaming as the father, husband and brother react to the daughter's increasing madness; Bergman, however, unlike O'Neill who wrote for the stage, uses images and script beautifully to suggest an upbeat ending after all the wrangling.

Sundays and Cybèle. French director Serge Bourguignon's first feature-length picture uses camera and sound track expertly in a cinematic poem about an amnesiac and a twelve-year-old girl. A delicate subject matter is considerably enhanced by the sensitive performances of Hardy Kruger and young Patricia Gozzi.

Lawrence of Arabia. Producer Sam Spiegel, director David Lean, and scriptwriter Robert Bolt don't resolve the legend of T. E. Lawrence, but Peter O'Toole gives an excellent performance in the title role; indeed, everyone connected with the movie has helped to turn out one of the most beautiful and spectacular epics ever made.

The Miracle Worker. William Gibson's play about little Helen Keller and her teacher, Annie Sullivan, is so well acted on the screen by Patty Duke and Anne Bancroft that the viewer undergoes the almost incomprehensible experience himself.

The Night and *Eclipse.* One may disagree with director Michelangelo Antonioni's contentions about the sterility of today's society, but one must admit that these two films, with the earlier *L'Avventura,* state the argument forcefully and in cinema of the highest artistry. Now it is up to other film makers to answer Antonioni's theme about our living in a moral vacuum in a wasteland.

David and Lisa. Inexpensively made by producer Paul M. Heller and director Frank Perry, this unusual movie about disturbed adolescents undergoing therapy at a private school is heartening and heart-warming, thanks greatly to the fine performances by Keir Dullea and Janet Margolin as two young people who help each other.

So stands the Ten. No doubt, since Everyman considers himself a movie critic, he will have his own list. That is good. And I won't argue with him too much if he includes several films that could easily have been on my list: *Electra, The Longest Day, The Island, Stowaway in the Sky, The Long Absence, Hatari!, War Hunt, Whistle Down the Wind,* and *Jumbo* (for wonderful, wonderful Jimmy Durante). Let's hope 1963 does as well—or much better.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

THE STAGE

Chekhov the Man

WHEN CHEKHOV asks himself "Am I not fooling the reader, since I cannot answer the most important questions?" or when he describes himself as an "indifferent dramatist," one who lacks the gifts of "real" playwrights like Maeterlinck and Hauptmann, we never for a moment suspect a pose or begin thinking about the neurotic self-abasement of genius. One might think we would; the modest giant is still a folk figure, but this is more truly the age of literary self-aggrandizement, of

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Hemingway and Mary McCarthy and Norman Mailer's *Advertisements for Myself*. We tend to take the self-deprecating writer at his word, or, if his achievement is irresistible, to consider him insincere or pathological if he expresses doubt.

But when Chekhov speaks with uncertainty or scepticism about his work, we are moved to greater esteem and to a more profound understanding of his complex attitude towards life and art and towards the relations of the self with both. For nothing any longer shadows his existence in our minds as the most honest and self-effacing of great writers. Tolstoy called him "a dear, beautiful man . . . so modest and quiet, just like a girl," and the description causes us no embarrassment at all. And when Gorky writes that in his presence "everyone involuntarily felt in himself a desire to be simpler, more truthful, more one's self," we acknowledge these desires as the ones roused in us by his fiction and his plays.

Reading the massive biography which Ernest Simmons, the chronicler of Pushkin and Tolstoy, has presented to us, we encounter Chekhov's extraordinary, subtle modesty and immense moral goodness in the most diverse manifestations. The book, *Chekhov* (*Atlantic-Little, Brown, $10.*), suffers from the disease that afflicts most literary biography today—elephantiasis. There is scarcely a day in his subject's life that Simmons fails to account for, there is an endless wearisome setting down of details and almost no literary or esthetic judgment that is not obvious and banal when it is not simply wrong. But Simmons' astonishing research does enough to reanimate our knowledge of Chekhov's supremely human richness to make its *longueurs* endurable.

One generation removed from serfdom, Chekhov became an aristocrat in the fullest sense. By nineteen, when he began his medical studies, he was the chief support of his family, his income coming from the humorous sketches and tales he had started contributing to magazines and newspapers. His literary rise was swift, and before he was thirty he was everywhere recognized as one of Russia's greatest writers. But he considered his fame to be chiefly a source of pride for his country and for literature, which he served unselfishly, exhausting himself, particularly in those last, physically ravaged years, with help and concern for other writers, especially the younger ones.

A man who made it a practice to catch mice alive in his house in order to set them free in the fields, he once described his "holy of holies" as "the human body, health, intelligence, talent, inspiration, love and the most absolute freedom—freedom from violence and falsehood, in whatever forms these may be expressed." These faculties and virtues, perhaps most highly the last, are what we reverence in his work. He does for us what Gorky said he did for the readers of his own day: he comes among us and "with a sad smile, with a tone of gentle but deep reproach, with anguish in his face and in his heart, in a beautiful and sincere voice," he says "'You live badly, my friends. It is shameful to live like that.'"

The source of his self-doubt lay in the fact that he had no answers, no prescriptions, only the truth to offer again and again. Thomas Mann has written of Chekhov that because the truth of life "is ironical . . . it can easily happen that a writer who puts the truth above everything else is reproached by the world with lack of conviction, indifference to good and evil, lack of ideals and ideas." But Chekhov's doubt went deeper. "Dissatisfaction with oneself is one of the foundation stones of every real talent," he once wrote, and in these words we learn something about the nature of his attitude to art. Art, he felt, made the creator dissatisfied because it threw back at him the immeasurability of the space between the existent and the possible; art itself was only a possibility, and the generous, beautiful, uncompromising and unfettered gifts one made to it were with exquisite and painful irony a source of reproach for what had not been given to the real.

It has been Chekhov's fate, most modest and intelligent of men, to suffer continually from the depredations of the arrogant and the thick-witted. There is so much melancholy testimony to this in David Ross' new production of "The Cherry Orchard" that one can only pass over it in silence, with the will to comment, specify and offer antidotes sapped by the sheer immensity of the gloom. In one of his moods of attack, the other side of his diffidence, Chekhov once wrote that "we must strive with all our power to see to it that the stage passes out of the hands of grocers and into literary hands, otherwise the theater is doomed." The hands of the grocers continue to tighten on our theaters and the doom of dramatic art advances inch by inexorable inch.

RICHARD GILMAN

Truce with Saint Bernard

Here, where the black leaf tolerates the snow,
Now, when the night gives way to day,
And all, for all mirage, is either this or that,
And both extremes are real, I grant an error in my cause:

I have fought too long for small distinctions;
I have grown foolish in the middle way:
Nor sin nor love nor is nor can be if or but.
In this, abbot, you were right and I was wrong.

There comes a time when the soul wants thunder,
Fire, noise; wrath, truth, judgment undeferred:
Time like the present. Shake hands, Cistercian,
Though know that I may rise to fight again.

JAMES KRITZECK

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Church in Latin America

Techny, Ill.

TO THE EDITORS: The article in *Look* magazine and the comments on it by James O'Gara [Nov. 16] were certainly encouraging. They show a tendency to depart from the usual clichés and represent an attempt to present an objective picture of the Catholic Church in Latin America.

Allow me, however, to express some doubts on statements contained in your comments and in the article in *Look*. First, the identification of the clergy with the upper class and the aristocracy. That was certainly true decades ago and it is true even today in some particular areas. I wonder, however, if such a statement can be made on the clergy of Latin America as a whole. Just consider the work done by Fr. Melo among the peasants of Northeast Brazil or by Msgr. Salcedo among the *campesinos* of Colombia, the social and educational activity of such bishops as Sales of Natal, Larrain of Talca, Helder Camara of Rio, Partelli of Tacuarembo (Uruguay), Rau and Irirate of Argentina, or Gomes of Guiana. And I could present a dozen other clergymen deeply involved in the social and economic problems of their people, whose work is less known, but not less significant. Don't they represent a definite step away from the identification of the Church with the rich?

It has also been said, as a basis of that supposition, that priestly and religious vocations come largely from the educated middle and upper classes. It is true that a good number of vocations come from the middle class—although the middle class in Latin America is not as large as that in the United States or Europe. But the supposition that the upper class is a source of vocations is apparently a myth. I have met hundreds of Latin American seminarians and had close contact with many of them for years. And my observations lead to the conclusion that the absolute majority of vocations comes from the poor and middle class families, particularly from the rural areas, and not from the upper class. The upper class, especially the new upper class, has lost much of its consideration and esteem for the priesthood. The priest in its eyes is not anymore as high in the social ladder as he used to be. A friend of mine, because of the opposition of his wealthy parents, was twenty-one before he could enter the seminary. And the rich Archdiocese of Sao Paulo, even at the present moment, has only four or five new priests per year; some years, it has none.

Look also refers to a Maryknoll priest who has found in Latin America an almost fanatical concern for Baptism and a profoundly cynical view of Matrimony. It is true that there is much ignorance among the Catholic people in Latin America: the reception of some sacraments seems motivated rather by social custom than by religious conviction. But, is there "an almost fanatical" concern for Baptism? A sociological study made this year by a Dominican priest in a rural diocese of Brazil shows that, although about ninety-five per cent of the people are baptized, only seventy-four per cent are baptized within their first year, which seems to exclude that "almost fanatical" concern. And is there a "cynical" view of Matrimony? The same study shows that eighty-four per cent of the people in that area are married in the Church. Certainly, it must be admitted that conditions in Latin America vary a little from region to region, but it would seem that the "fanatical" concern and the "cynical" view are, fortunately, only imaginary concepts. Although we Latin Americans are a strange people, and sometimes have funny ideas, we are not as strange as some people believe.

As a South American, I want to express my appreciation for your frequent and positive treatment of our problems. I hope your effort and your example will eventually lead other magazines to occupy themselves with our countries not only in times of revolution and trouble but also in times of peace and progress, and, what is more important, to see them as they really are and not as they are imagined to be. GABRIEL SELONG

Catholics and the N.E.A.

Chaska, Minn.

TO THE EDITORS: Not so very long ago there was a flurry of critical comment in the Catholic Press and elsewhere throughout Catholic circles concerning the supposed influence of the National Education Association in Congress' defeat of the College Aid Bill [Oct. 12]. Prescinding from the validity of these attacks on the N.E.A., I feel that it is well to seize the incident as an opportunity to re-evaluate a facet of current American Catholic life.

It is puzzling to many to find that whenever any national society or association is formed in the area of education, science, or business, a Catholic counterpart always arises on the other side and bids for the membership of Catholic educators, scientists, or businessmen. While justification for the second organization—the Catholic counterpart—is often claimed on the basis of the first society's being too secular, with some reflection it should not be so surprising that the first *is* secular and devoid of the Christian ideals Catholics claim they achieve when they band together in their own associations.

Are Catholics in doubt of their own influence? It would be, for example, a nice point about which to conjecture should there be no N.C.E.A. and instead the bulk of Catholic teachers and educators were to belong to the N.E.A. It seems a bit illogical to suppose that

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their voice would not be heard nor their position considered when an organizational policy was being formed.

It sometimes appears to have the air of smugness when we ban together in our own separate societies and from their safe confines lash out at our secular counterparts. Is the voice from without really more valuable, influential, and effectual than the voice from within? *(Rev.)* JEREMY HUGHES, OFM CONV.

"Ship of Fools"

Brooklyn, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: I have just finished *Ship of Fools,* and I feel as if I have been the victim of a great literary hoax. All the reviews which I saw were complimentary. The only reservation of The Commonweal's reviewer, as I recall, was that Miss Porter's view of life was a partial one. But none of the critics indicated how overwhelmingly boring the book is.

The characters are all caricatures, all unbelievable; the hissing and clawing and self-pity goes on interminably, without development of plot or character; the author's insights are on the level of a Mary Worth gone bitter. Nor is there any literary grace to redeem Miss Porter's pretentious, hate-filled allegory; the awkwardness of the writing, the grammatical errors—even the deficiencies in punctuation—slow the reader and magnify the boredom. The following, from page 194, must be one of the great sentences of literature: "Neither La Condesa nor the Doctor mentioned these apparitions, or hardly noticed them, and went on with their conversation, pleasantly."

When the reviews revealed to me that the literary world had been eagerly awaiting Miss Porter's book for twenty years, I felt that I was sharing in the arcana of an inner circle. I wish the critics would share one more secret with me: has there been a gigantic leg-pulling of the reading public? Must the art of the novel, like that of the motion picture, be vitiated by the low critical standards of those who should be its defenders? WILLIAM F. O'CONNOR

BOOKS

The Soviet Union Through the Looking Glass of Literature

Dissonant Voices in Soviet Literature. Edited by Patricia Blake and Max Hayward. Pantheon. $5.95.
Selected Poems. Yeugeni Yevtushenko. Translated with an introduction by Robin Milner-Gulland and Peter Levi, S.J. Dutton. $3.
People and Life. By Ilya Ehrenberg. Knopf. $5.95.

by Richard C. Kostelanetz

IN HIS introduction to the anthology of *Dissonant Voices,* Max Hayward fails to make an important distinction between two types of dissonance, two ways of showing that the instruments of society are out of tune. The first is merely a critical portrait of a person or a specific social situation; for example, a satire on Stalin, a burlesque of the foibles of Communist police, or a memoir of the horrors of a particular military encounter. In the second kind of dissonance, a more significant one, the author's critical reach transcends specifics to become universal in scope—a dissent from the life we all know.

George Orwell's *1984* is great not merely because it attacks Russian totalitarianism but because it also condemns all the deceits of thought control, all regimented conformity—in short, the fetters on human freedom in every modern country. In the same way, Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* is a superior novel because it sees in the failure of the Russian Revolution the epitome of the larger failure of life today. Only when a piece of Soviet literature moves above the parochial level does it become interesting to non-Russians and thereby merit comparison with the greatest works of European literature.

Nearly all the pieces in the Blake-Hayward anthology fail to transcend national concerns. Vladimir Polyakov's "The Story of a Story" is simply a thin, moderately clever satire on the artistic conventions of "socialist realism," and Lev Kassil's fairy tale of King Vainglorious emerges clearly as a fabulistic attack on Stalin's authoritarian rule. Interspersed with these political tales are memoirs of Isaac Babel and Vladimir Mayakovsky (the latter figure is treated by Ilya Ehrenberg). Some of the other tales attempt in vain to strike a more universal note. Vladimir Tendryakov's "Three, Seven, Ace," billed by the editors as "neo-realist," reads like a Chekovian first draft which needs to be pruned of superfluous incidents and excrescent language. The few poems suffer from either a prosy stylistic simplicity or a complete submission to the demands of propaganda.

Nonetheless, there are several pieces that are of more than historical interest. The editors chose to include an early (1918), rather incomplete, story by Pasternak about two figures in Revolutionary Russia. One suppresses all personal feelings for the sake of political necessity, while the other emerges with more humanity, a contrast in personalities developed more fully in *Zhivago.* Isaac Babel's "The Journey," like his best fiction, is a complex of several themes—the unpredictable violence of Russian life, the cheapness of all life in modern times, the isolation of the sensitive man, the irony of success and the necessity of journeying. This short piece stands as testimony to Babel's ability to write a concise, simple tale that, upon careful scrutiny, is resonant with a maze of ambiguous meanings.

The most important story histor-

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ically, and perhaps aesthetically as well, is the most recent one, "This Is Moscow Speaking," a tale attributed to the pseudonymous author, Nikolai Arzak. In a lively, slangy prose, he develops the theme used by Zamaitin in *We* and expanded by Orwell in *1984*, that of the sensitive, artistic, honest man torn between the demands of his own heart and the strictures of society. Because of his sensitivity, he interprets as violent threats to himself incidents that others dismiss as insignificant. Through the device of a first-person narrator, Arzak takes us into a Kafkaesque nightmare of impending violence in which characters are stripped of all masks and society becomes a closing vise. If this story represents a significant trend, contemporary Russian literature, after its long absence, may finally be returning to the mainstream of European writing.

Yeugeni Yevtushenko may be the great white hope for Russian poetry that several critics claim him to be, but Robin Milner-Gulland and Peter Levi's pot-boiling translation will do nothing to enhance his reputation here.

Who is to blame for these lines: "It dawned. / Everything seemed younger. / Night dissolved away to nothingness." Or this cliché of the transition from adolescence to maturity: "I felt sad and clean/and sad perhaps because/of having learnt something/and not yet knowing what." Still, Yevtushenko himself must be responsible for much of the sentimentality, cliché and humble homily that clutters the long poem, "Zima Junction," which fills half the book. The passage in which the author addresses the Russian wheat for wisdom—"What can be done, wheat? Wise wheat."—is pure corn.

To sense the total ineptitude of the translators, we need only to note the outrageously clumsy writing in the introduction; or, to be more thorough, we can compare Milner-Gulland and Levi's rendition of "Babiy Yar" (the site of a Nazi massacre of 34,000 Jews) with Max Hayward's translation in his anthology. In the Hayward translation, the Whitmanesque narrator identifies himself with the Jews as victims of oppression, only to identify, in a second projection, all Russians with himself. This is impressive poetry.

In the first two volumes of his autobiography (covering only his first 30 years) Ilya Ehrenberg reveals himself as a garrulous man of literary affairs who seems to have known everyone, participated since an amazingly tender age in all major political debates, championed the avant-garde in all forms (although unable to sustain participation in his own creative work) and double-dealt left and right until in 1961 he was the only old-timer left on the literary stage.

The book is filled with all sorts of trivial facts about his own life and gossip about the low doings of his high-brow friends. The translation cannot hide the hastily conceived metaphors, the loosely constructed journalistic sentences, the scores of paragraphs in which absolutely nothing is said and the disconnected hopping from anecdote to anecdote. In its final effect, the book resembles a collection of Leonard Lyons' columns, oppressively concerned with the small "human" details in the lives of "big" people.

Nowhere are we given a thorough explanation of character or a profound appreciation of art. Even worse, Ehrenberg gives us little sense of his own intellectual development (if there was any) or artistic maturation. To sense fully the superficiality of the work, we need only compare it with the autobiography of Ehrenberg's contemporary, Pasternak—a writer of superior talent, integrity and artistic achievement. In his *Safe Conduct*, Pasternak creates a history of his own intellectual and aesthetic development by sifting through a refined memory the significant experiences of his early life. In his one hundred pages there is a substantiality that Ehrenberg in five times that length, can never equal.

The Scientific Management of Education

Education and the Cult of Efficiency. By Raymond E. Callahan. The University of Chicago Press. $5.50.

by John J. McDermott

THE ineptness of most historical analyses of problems confronting our educational institutions is never so apparent as when a work of quality appears on the scene. Offered as "a study of the social forces that have shaped the administration of the public schools," Raymond Callahan's book combines a fidelity to historical data characteristic of a monograph, with a balanced sense of values and an incisiveness all too rare in efforts of this kind. While there is no question that Mr. Callahan deplores the extraordinary and ill-advised influence of business and "scientific management" on early twentieth-century American education, he nevertheless avoids any simplistic or "bad man" theories to account for it.

More significant, he gives the reader an insight into the plausible origins of the situation, by exploring the political and sociological concerns of America at that time. And he in no way subscribes to the fiction that progressive education and John Dewey, with his emphasis on the continuity of school and community, were the primary reasons for the dominance of the cult of efficiency and business methodology over educational practices. On the contrary, he maintains that Dewey with a few others "stood almost alone in opposing the watering down of the curriculum," and was rendered ineffectual by forces of quite different sociological origins.

Mr. Callahan's book fulfills two primary objectives. The first is an historical rendering of the transfer of "scientific management" techniques from industry and business to education. The second, more generally conceived, is a careful statement about the pervasive "vulnerability of schoolmen" to extraneous and know-nothing pressures which, Mr. Callahan laments, have become a permanent disability of the American educational scene.

Concerning the first problem, the historical period in question is 1900 to 1929 and it centers around the

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phenomenal success attained by the "Taylor System" of "scientific management." Although the status of business as a locus of values for the community was always an element of American life, no one could have foreseen the staggering success of this new method of industrial management which swept the nation in the fall of 1910. Essentially a method of efficiency, it promised to "increase wages and lower costs," and while certain personal values were injured in the process its success was immediate and thorough. It was soon indiscriminately applied "to many aspects of American life, including the army and navy, the legal profession, the home, the family, the household, the church, and last but not least to education."

The harassment of the schools took the form of an excessive concern for a cost-accounting evaluation of literally every movement made by a pupil, teacher, administrator or school board member. And "efficiency" too often resulted in saddling schools and their officials with impossible obligations, so that a successful superintendent should not only "know the details of the school plant and equipment, from pens and ink to plumbing fixtures and vacuum cleaners, but that he should be an expert in warming, ventilating, school seating, decorating and landscape gardening . . . (and) inspect the school grounds, basement, furnace, engine rooms and toilets . . . ." Callahan marshals considerable data to show that this kind of approach was by no means an isolated case but, on the contrary, was symptomatic of a nation-wide attitude.

The methods used to insure the dominance of "scientific management" over the school administrators do not make for a pleasant story. Considering the public pressure, the abuse that systematically flowed from the popular magazines, and the reprisals in the form of threats to job security, Callahan wonders how *anyone* remained in the administration of schools long enough to educate the two generations involved. Given his description of educational policies in some cities, the more pertinent question might have been, why anyone chose to remain associated with the schools in any capacity. But it is not without significance that the two generations Mr. Callahan describes are at present directing similar pressures at school boards all over the country. If the setting has changed somewhat in this post-sputnik era, budget and efficiency are still the watchwords.

This is precisely the second major concern of Callahan's book, for despite a disenchantment with scientific management as a panacea for all domestic ills, education and its administrators are still under the same arbitrary coercion as in 1912. "They are still vulnerable to public opinion and to all kinds of pressures, and their perennial problem is how to get enough money to operate the schools from a nation that is reluctant to spend money in the public sectors of the economy." The problem that underlies all this has, of course, to do with the knot of relationships that characterize America's double pursuit of excellence and of values subject to the approval of the community at large. Mr. Callahan doesn't analyze this difficulty, but the provides indispensable data for one aspect of the discussion.

A few more monographs of this quality, devoted to equally critical areas of our educational tradition, and we may well make of our history the learning process it should be, thereby better enabling us to manage our very real immediate problems.

Estrangement as a Source of Strength

The Leavetaking. By Peter Weiss. Harcourt, Brace & World. $3.75.

by Alice Ellen Mayhew

HIS PARENTS die, almost simultaneously, and the son is conscious most of all of how estranged from them he had been. His grief is for the incomprehension of love and knowledge that existed between them and him, and for the dreariness and reticence which had diseased their relationship. In one vast and vivid, utterly peculiar, impressionist revelation, the narrator recreates the climates and movements through which he passed to become his own free man. But he also sketches, necessarily, the positions of his parents and their juxtapositions with the world they live in.

Peter Weiss does not, in *The Leavetaking*, offer a prototype of the history of our times. But the artist-son who feels an explosive force in himself and who knows that he must devote his life to its expression, reveals himself in eminently modern, existentialist terms.

Besides, he is half-Jewish and he lives in a Germany going rapidly to Nazi seed. For all that he thinks, in retrospect, that the effort to find expression for his being had taken all his attention, so that he has been untouched by the struggle that had raged outside; he is, in fact, an outsider. He is not only estranged as an artist and isolated as a person, but social and then political persecution are, at the least, negative confirmations of the alienation that he had experienced from earliest childhood. Both estrangements are real; neither is a symbol of the other, nor a mere literary drama. Both are sources of pain and potential strength.

For his parents, the struggle is perhaps simpler and yet without egress. Through myriad emigrations, they conduct a ceaseless struggle to maintain a home, without ever experiencing happiness in its possession. They are eternally frightened and holding back their pain. Their obsession to preserve the orderliness and protecting spirit of their home is the single important task. It deepens the gap of uncomprehension between them and their son and drives him into personal, voluptuous, lurid extravagances that lead to illnesses, to chaotic and incestuous yearnings, to terror-filled hallucinations. Cramped in fears, the child lies in bed, abandoned to visions and fantasies of his dissipations: "Every night I died, strangled, suffocated."

As he grows older, he feels emptiness beneath him and seeks to escape it through his art which is, at first, passionate, but sordid. He feels the throb of a marching, parading Germany, that compulsive drive for soli-

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darity that promised some crazy idea of a common destiny. But when he finds he cannot be a part of this, that he is the enemy, he begins to grasp the core of his uprootedness and to understand and defeat the horrors that are bursting both within and outside him. This is only the beginning of his struggle, but he will eventually find his salvation in this unity, and make the fact of his estrangement a source of strength for a new independence.

If there is a relationship between the son's inner struggles to come alive and the paroxysms that split the world outside (his parents' efforts to stay alive and preserve the semblances of order), it is not that one causes the other. It is simply that life is the opposite of death and the artist-son's battle to free himself and assert his existence reflects all struggles, even the most materially primitive. Mr. Weiss does not merely recount this process, he reconstructs it in sharp, violent and brilliantly descriptive impressions.

Red China Through Rose-Colored Glasses

The Other Side of the River: Red China Today. By Edgar Snow. Random House. $10.

by Harold C. Hinton

TWENTY-SIX years ago Edgar Snow performed a valuable service by giving the world, in his celebrated *Red Star over China,* its first account of the Communist-held regions in that country. Today, descriptions of what has become Red China are fairly widely available, as Mr. Snow acknowledges, so that his present long book, based on a trip in 1960, lacks the impact of his earlier shorter one. It is, moreover, so biased and naive as to constitute a public danger.

Mr. Snow's basic belief is that Communism represents the wave of the future in the underdeveloped areas because it is on the side of the poor majority, whereas American policy is reactionary and doomed to failure because it functions on behalf of the rich. To fill out this thesis Mr. Snow adds some views on the Cold War that are so absurd, and so pro-Communist in their main thrust, even if not in every detail, as not to deserve summation, let alone refutation, in a brief review. Suffice it to say that his position may be indicated by his condemnation of the American demand for inspection in connection with a disarmament or arms control agreement as an insistence on "legalized espionage."

All this might be endured if Mr. Snow had given us any important new material on mainland China, either by way of description or analysis. But he has not. His narrative is longer than the other travelogues by Western visitors, but less informative than some. Countless pages are wasted on descriptions of trivial incidents and conversations, some of them dating from Mr. Snow's earlier visits to China and some of them in extremely poor taste. He grossly minimizes the coercion that accompanied the "Great Leap Forward" and the disastrous effects that that ill-conceived effort had on the economy. In the teeth of the evidence, he denies the existence of widespread malnutrition in China. In short, Mr. Snow apparently saw and was told nothing of any real importance.

His analysis combines amateurish summary of scholarly writings already available and jejune speculations of his own. He shows little understanding of the Chinese Communists' domestic and foreign objectives and of the means they employ to achieve them. The Sino-Soviet dispute poses an especially difficult problem for him, since he is sympathetic to both sides. Whereas it is a problem of overriding importance to both parties, and a quarrel in which the Chinese have taken the strategic initiative, Snow's solution is to describe some aspects of the dispute but to minimize its significance.

As might be expected, Mr. Snow holds that the United States should open political and economic relations with Communist China, in order to remove the latter's grievances with and misunderstanding of this country. He apparently does not under-

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Introduction by KONRAD ADENAUER

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KRISHNA MENON

by EMIL LENGYEL

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stand that such a policy, in the absence of a concomitant reorientation of Chinese policy based on a conviction that the Soviet Union rather than the United States had become China's most dangerous enemy, would jeopardize vital American interests and would stand even less chance of success than Nehru's pathetic effort, from 1949 to 1962, to tame Peking through kindness.

Books by journalists, even when fortified by some documentary research as this one is, are seldom masterpieces of political analysis, but in Mr. Snow's case, the underlying assumptions about capitalism and communism come straight from the thirties. Like other Bourbons of the intellectual left, he has apparently learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

REVIEWERS

Richard C. Kostelanetz is a free-lance writer living in New York.

John McDermott is a member of the faculty of Queens College.

Alice Ellen Mayhew is on the staff of a well-known New York publishing house.

Harold C. Hinton is a member of the faculty of Washington's Trinity College.

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ART

Drawings Old, Drawings New

A DRAWING explosion seems to be developing within the framework of an unprecedented interest in art in the U.S.A. Books, exhibitions and gallery stocks have not just been increasing gradually in this field; they have been increasing by leaps and bounds. Four short years ago, when the exhibit entitled *French Drawings in American Collections* was shown at the Metropolitan Museum, it seemed like an unusual project as well as a delectable show. While no exhibition has turned up as yet to surpass it, it is now almost a commonplace to hear of exhibitions of drawings.

The same acceleration of interest has appeared in art books on the subject, the latest one being a monumental four-volume edition entitled *Great Drawings of All Time.* As for art galleries, they too can be observed to be doubling or tripling their showings in this area, and in some cases specializing in them altogether.

Many different things probably have contributed to this outburst of interest—ranging from a thirst for precision and intimacy to a simple desire for works of art more nearly within one's economic grasp. The fascinating succinctness of drawing, what may perhaps be called its eternal fascination—a quality which has always been there to see in great drawings—is probably more moving than ever before to a public smothered in the dashing, the discursive or decorative gesture, in the overdramatic statement. This is almost as true of contemporary drawings, as it is of drawings by the old or more recent masters. Indeed, it is heartening to notice, in the middle of attacks that range from flat-footed to veiled upon the technical discipline of contemporary artists, that they can and do submit to the revealing rigor of drawing with notably substantial success.

Take Joseph Albers, for instance. In the current Whitney Museum Annual in N.Y. (contemporary sculpture and drawings), Albers is represented by an abstract drawing in ink called *Reverse—Obverse;* unlike most abstract titles, this one is perfect, and the drawing itself is pure geometric poetry. Self-contained and with the strictest economy, it captures an acrobatic impulse in a lucid image. In the same exhibition, *Tree and Shadow,* a conté crayon and pastel by Robert Birmelin, builds up in exquisite detail a haunting, somberly-dappled moment. Mark Tobey contributes one of his polished in-and-out compositions, *Blue and White Calligraphy* (tempera) and Thomas Prentiss a naked yet luminous rendition of a *Skull of a Rabbit.* Very few drawings in this exhibit fall below a high level of excellence (unlike the sculpture); Larry River's *The Figure* (How to Draw Series) and Ellsworth Kelly's *10-1962* are two sketches rather than drawings—but as sketches they have verve and interest.

At the Pierpont Morgan Library an august exhibition of Old Master Drawings from the Devonshire Collection at Chatsworth is being offered to the public. There are few "sketches" here to speak of, and there are a large number of really great drawings that rise way above a mere "high level of excellence"—but of course, these drawings range over the centuries and countries. The remarkable thing is that, apart from the splendid Raphaels, Rubens, Rembrandts, etc., the body of this collection might be said simply to present a high level of excellence in addition.

This exhibition (to be widely circulated by the Smithsonian Traveling Exhibition Service in America) is by no means the equal of the one of *French Drawings* already mentioned: the latter was the pick of all American collections, public and private. The Chatsworth Collection is just a private one (acquired by the Dukes of Devonshire in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), even though one of the finest private collections of drawings in the world, embracing as it does the

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work of some of the world's greatest draughtsmen. It is a great collection, rather than a very great exhibition.

The best of its drawings are nevertheless jewels: Raphael's *A Woman Reading With A Child,* a tranquil absorbed pyramidal figure in profile with a child staring out at the spectator from the safe embrace of her arm, and the same artist's rough, expressive black chalk sketch of a man's sensual youthful head—these are both wonders to behold. Rubens' *Tree-Trunk and Brambles,* with its plunging baroque shape and its spangle of tracery, Holbein's curvaceous and authoritative *Profile of a Scholar or Cleric,* Rembrandt's robust and lively line drawing of *St. Augustine In His Study* (surely a misnomer?)—all these are high expectations lavishly fulfilled.

There are some enchanting surprises, too, like Van Dyke's lyrical landscapes and, in particular for me, the anonymous fifteenth-century Sienese School drawing entitled on the one side *The Betrayal of Our Lord* and on the other *Christ Before the High Priest.* In these last-named drawings the delicate vivacity of the line and the simple directness and humanity of expression are a pure delight.

Among the abundance of art books on drawings, the first volume of a new series called "Drawings of the Masters," *French Impressionists* (Shorewood Publishers, $4.50.), should be mentioned as a special treat.

The text by M. Serullaz is both agreeable and illuminating and some of the hundred illustrations, drawn from far and wide and from public and private collections, are extraordinarily good. A Delacroix watercolor, *Arabs of Tetuan,* a Degas *Portrait of Eduard Manet* and some beautiful Renoir, Maillol and Rodin nudes are among the drawings from private collections that one would not generally have the good luck to see.

It may be said that by and large the drawing explosion is a beneficent one—although like most outbursts of "fashion" it is bound to bring forward much that is banal, of merely peripheral interest. Yet it enlarges the climate of opinion in which all the arts prosper and sharpens the appreciation of what our contemporary artists are doing in this field.

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